

曾国藩未刊书札

广东省立中山图书馆编



商務印書館

曾国藩未刊书札

广东省立中山图书馆 编

商务印书馆

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

曾国藩未刊书札 / 广东省立中山图书馆编. — 北京: 商务印书馆, 2002

ISBN 7-100-03627-5

I. 曾... II. 广... III. 曾国藩 (1811~1872) — 书信集 — 中国 IV. K827=52

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字 (2002) 第084209号

所有权利保留。
未经许可, 不得以任何方式使用。

曾国藩未刊书札

广东省立中山图书馆编

商务印书馆出版

(王府井大街36号 邮政编码100710)

商务印书馆发行

深圳中华商务联合印刷有限公司印刷

ISBN 7-100-03627-5 / K · 751

2002年11月第1版 开本 787×1092 1/16

2002年11月第1次印刷 印张 7.5

定价: 98.00元

序

王贵忱

曾国藩（一八一——一八七二年），初名子城，字居武，又字伯涵，号涤生，是晚清名臣、学者和书法家。湖南湘乡白杨坪（今属湖南双峰县）人。道光间，以名翰林经五转至礼部侍郎，先后以侍郎管礼、兵、工、刑、吏五部部务。咸丰二年（一八五二年），国藩典试江西，中途因母丧回籍守制。时太平军兴，进军两湖，受命以在籍侍郎督办湖南团练。后以军功累官至两江、直隶总督、武英殿大学士。卒谥文正。《清史稿》卷四百五有传。

曾氏论学主张义理、考据、词章、经济四者兼备，志在用儒术规范百家，立足于经世致用之学，生平著述甚丰。及国藩卒后，由其门人李瀚章整理编刊之《曾文正公全集》一百六十四卷，内容：卷首一卷、《奏稿》三十卷、《十八家诗钞》二十八卷、《经史百家杂钞》二十六卷、《经史百家简编》二卷、《鸣原堂论文》二卷、《诗集》四卷、《文集》四卷、《书札》三十三卷、《批牍》六卷、《杂著》四卷、《求阙斋读书录》十卷、《求阙斋日记类钞》二卷、《年谱》十二卷，附《孟子要略》五卷，共一百六十九卷〔1〕。此外，别有影印手稿本《曾文正公手写日记》六巨册〔2〕、排印本《曾文正公家书》十卷、《家训》二卷〔3〕；后人增辑本《批论奏章》一百二十卷、《政绩批牍》二十四卷，《家书》则增至二十八卷之多〔4〕。国藩位兼将相，服官从戎日久，犹勤于著述如此。由见曾氏是一位躬行实践之学者，其事功本于学问，善以礼运，因有学业典型之誉。在曾氏全部著述中，书信之作居重要部分，数量之大罕有其匹。据年谱记载，后人搜集所编之《书札》达六十卷、《尺牍》达五十卷〔5〕之多。此外，民国年间书坊影印曾国藩书信集数见不鲜，散见于旧报刊发表之集外书信亦偶有所见。至于分散在公私藏家手中曾氏未刊书信，恐非少数。收入本集曾国藩致李瀚章、李鸿章昆仲之书信和附片，当是李瀚章编辑《曾文正公全集》时抽出未刊之家藏件，裱为经折装一厚册，即是集外者。

李瀚章（一八二——一八九九年），字筱泉，一作小泉，安徽合肥磨店乡（今属安徽肥东县）人。其父李文安，曾官刑部郎中，与曾国藩为戊戌（道光十八年，一八三八年）同年。文安有六子，瀚章居长，鸿章居次，以下依次为鹤章、蕴章、凤章、昭庆。李瀚章于道光二十九年（一八四九年），以拔贡朝考出曾国藩门下，初为湖南知县。及曾国藩建湘军之初，即奏调瀚章至江西南昌综理粮秣。咸丰七年（一八五七年），曾国藩奔父丧回籍，李瀚章相继回合肥守制。后一年，曾国藩奉旨复出督师，仍召李瀚章回南昌总核粮台报销。瀚章遂偕其母、弟辈移家于南昌。李鸿章（一八二

三——一九〇一年），本名章铜，字渐甫，号少荃，一作少泉，晚年自号仪叟。当其未第时，常以年家子从曾国藩习为举子业。既授翰林，亦常往问学。咸丰初年，李鸿章奉命随同工部左侍郎吕贤基回安徽督办团练。以不能展其才，嗣于八年（一八五九年）至南昌，经其兄瀚章介绍入曾国藩幕府，襄办营务。颇为曾氏青睞，悉心训导政事军务，卒至成就名臣。是则李瀚章、李鸿章与曾国藩本属世交，又有师生之谊，屡经提携，均位至督抚。彼此关系至为密切，书信言事较少避忌。唯其如此，此批书信中不乏述隐情、言私事之密札。如第二十五通复李瀚章信中，便用“略为少泉剖晰苦衷，冀释朝廷之疑”句，足见交谊非同寻常。又如第三十通致李瀚章附片中直抒隐衷曰：“常恐暮年或蹈大戾诒知爱羞。”盖国藩晚年唯恐功高被清廷诛戮，处处谨慎小心，但求身免之心曲表露无余。如此信件含有与清廷离心离德隐情，当时倘公之于世，不免有议罪之虞。致如有关治军、督战、施政和罗致人才、奖训后进诸札，对研究清军与太平军、捻军之战史和曾国藩其人，具有重要史料价值。他如臧否人物以及私情求助诸事，在李瀚章编刊全集本书信中绝鲜见，此之所以堪称难得者。

此批曾国藩致李瀚章、李鸿章之书信和附片，共三十二通五十四页。其中书信三通，其余二十九通为附片，均未署年份。经粗略考之，内中五通书札可明其写作年代，其余不尽可知，从内涵知系依时序编次装裱者。就可考知而言，第一通复李瀚章书，内称：“遂令鲍军北渡救援，而鄙人亦移驻东流江滨，就近调度。”署四月十八日（农历，下同）巳刻。鲍军系指鲍超所统湘军。鲍超，初字春亭，后改为春霆，四川奉节人。经查《曾国藩年谱》〔6〕咸丰十一年（一八六一年）：“四月，公移驻东流县”，而《曾文正公手写日记》咸丰十一年四月十八日记：“早饭后围棋一局。旋写鲍春霆信、胡宫（保）信、沅弟信、李小泉信”。由知三项记录相合，是为咸丰十一年四月十八日书无疑。第十四通致李瀚章附片，末署“闰五月晦日”，查历书知为同治四年（一八六五年）闰五月三十日书。第二十五通复李瀚章书署“闰四月十三日，与同日《日记》所载“二更后写李小泉信一封”，适相吻合，系是年闰四月十三日所书。第二十八通致李瀚章附片，是应瀚章求写楹联事，并向之索宣纸、湖笔。信文饶有风趣，录下：

再，寄来宣纸甚好，惜字不称。两头各裁去数寸，嫌太长也。乡间秀才偶尔为人题主，则索谢每有奢望，况题祉右之联乎？尊赐珍物八色，似嫌其少。思得陈宣纸如此联者一、二十幅，而益之以旧豪湖笔，写对者、条幅各十余支，豪欲长而管欲小，可见惠否？顺问筱泉年兄台安。国藩顿首。八月十七。

查同治七年（一八六八年）八月十七日《日记》，有“复李筱泉信稿一件，自写一页……中正写对联八付。”此记与信文互为表里，所述是一事。信稿当由记室誊写，附片则为“自写”，所书八付对联，当有应瀚章所求之件。此片当系同治七年八月十七日书。第三十一通致李瀚章附片，非但无记年，并月日亦未记载。仅四行便笺，文曰：

读贤昆季寿文及鄂中公屏，不觉汗流浹背，愧悚莫名。自问剿捻无功后，累年无一处。此次以目病回任江表，尤为惭恶。欲求补救一二，精力已不能矣。

如有见闻，随时寄书见规为荷。

考曾氏右目失明，是同治九年（一八七〇年）三月事。是年十月十一日为其六十寿庆期，有称觴之会。闰十月二十日，抵金陵履任两江总督，后二日接篆视事。此片谓“以目病回任江表”，乃九年冬季事，而曾氏在同治十一年二月四日病殁于任所，此前已患病多时，此附片当属再任两江总督后，同治十年间所书。此批信札，始自咸丰十一年，末一通下限至同治十年，即国藩晚年最后十年中之遗墨，尤有研究价值和历史价值，值得重视。

再就此批信札之书艺而言，亦多有可述者。曾氏学养渊懿，娴于书法，善正书，行楷尤佳。论书主张刚健婀娜二者融合一体。所作大如榜书，小字如随意之信札，率皆本此旨趣，于庄重中含有妩媚情致，清刚高华意蕴洋溢于字里行间。晚年书迹尤见精神，所谓诗至老来工律细者。

注释：

〔1〕李瀚章编《曾文正公全集》，同治十三年至光绪二年传忠书局刊本。

〔2〕台湾学生书局，一九六一年影印手稿本。

〔3〕光绪丁亥鸿生书局铅字排印本。

〔4〕〔5〕〔6〕萧一山《曾国藩传》一一七页，一九九四年八月，海南国际新闻出版中心出版。

Preface

Wang Guichen

Zeng Guofan (1811–1872), originally named Zicheng, and then Juwu, Bohan, also styling himself as Di Sheng, was a famous official, scholar and calligrapher of the late Qing period (1840–1911). He was born in Baiyangping, Xiangxiang (now belonging to Shuangfeng county), Hunan Province. During the regime of emperor Dao Guang, he was appointed as a member of the Imperial Academy, and then changed his job for five times and finally was appointed as Deputy Minister of Rites. And then, he worked as deputy minister of Rites, War Affairs, Public Works, Penalty, and Civil Office. In 1852, Zeng was appointed as Education Supervisor to Jiangxi Province, but went back home after his mother's death. When Taiping Army was approaching Hunan and Hubei provinces, Zeng was appointed deputy minister to govern the local army in Hunan province. Later, due to his military achievements, he was appointed Governor-General of Jiangsu and Anhui provinces, as well as Secretary of Wuyingdian Council. When he died, he was given a title of 'Wen Zheng' (literary and righteous) by the emperor. His biography is included in *A History of Qing Dynasty* (p.105, vol. 4).

On the aspect of scholarship, Zeng believed that universal truth, textual research, the art of writing, and the administrative talents should be given an equally weight. He advocated that all schools of scholarship should be guided by Confucianism and based upon practical use. He also produced a large number of works. After his death, one of his disciples, Li Hanzhang, compiled 164 volumes of *The Complete Works of Zeng Wenzheng*, which included one volume of preface, 30 volumes of reports to the emperor, 28 volumes of poems of 18 poets, 26 volumes of essays by 100 writers and 2 volumes of brief edition of the same work, 2 volumes of essays of Mingyuantang, 4 volumes of poems, 4 volumes of essays, 33 volumes of letters, 6 volumes of official documents, 4 volumes of casual writings, 10 volumes of reading notes in Qiuquezhai, 2 volumes of diaries of Qiuquezhai, 12 volumes of chronology. In addition, there were 5 volumes of *Quintessence of The Mencius*, making the *Complete Works* to 169 volumes. Besides this *Complete Works*, there were also 6 volumes of Zeng Guofan's diaries (photo-printed handwritten copy), 10 volumes of Zeng Guofan's family letters (printed copy), 2 volumes of family instructions, 120 volumes of reports submitted to and commented by the emperor (enlarged edition), and 24 volumes of official documents with Zeng's comments. His letters to his family were also extended to 28 volumes. Zeng was not only a civil official but also a military officer, and produced a large number of works. He was a scholar who emphasized practice. Although he had high academic attainments, he was also good at putting theories into practice. Therefore, he served as a model for other scholars. Among all his works, his letters assumed an important position and its amount is prodigious. According to his chronology, *Shuzha* (letters) ran into 60 volumes, and *Chidu* (letters) into 50 volumes. In addition, his letters were frequently published by more than one publisher between 1920s to 30s. Other letters excluded from any of his collected works could also be found in various newspapers. There was also a large number of letters in the hands of public and private collectors. In this book, the letters and fragments addressed to Li Hanzhang and Li Hongzhang were kept by Li Hanzhang but excluded from the *Complete Works*. Later, they were compiled to one volume of book separate from the *Works*.

Li Hanzhang (1821–1899), also named Xiaoquan, was born in Modian village, Anhui Province (now Feidong county, Anhui Province). Li Wen'an, his father, an official in Ministry of Penalty, passed the Imperial Examination in the same year as Zeng Guofan (in 1838). Among Li Wen'an's 6 children, Hanzhang was the eldest and Hongzhang the second, and then Hezhang, Yunzhang, Fengzhang, and Shaoling. In 1849, Li Hanzhang passed an official exam of which Zeng was the supervisor. Firstly, he worked as magistrate of a county in Hunan province. When Zeng was building up Xiang Army, he asked the emperor to transfer Hanzhang to Nanchang, Hunan Province, to govern army provisions. In 1857, Zeng went back home after his father's death, and Li Hanzhang went back to Hefei. In the following year, Zeng received the emperor's order to handle military affairs again, and called Hanzhang back to deal with provisions and financial matters. Hanzhang took his mother and his brothers and sister with him, and moved to Nanchang. Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) was originally named Zhangtong, also Jiangfu, Shaoquan, later named himself Yisou. Before he won any official title, he also followed Zeng for study. Even when he became a member of the Imperial Academy, he still consulted Zeng about scholastic problems. In 1851, Li Hongzhang followed Lu Xianji (Deputy Minister of Public Works) to govern the local militia in Anhui Province. As he was not given the chance to give his talent into full play, in 1859 he went to Nanchang and joined Zeng Guofan through Hanzhang's recommendation. He helped Zeng with military affairs, and was highly appreciated by Zeng and learned a lot from him. Finally Hongzhang became another famous official in Qing dynasty. Li Hanzhang and Li Hongzhang, originally Zeng's friends and disciples, were repeatedly promoted by Zeng, and finally became governors of an area. Since they had intimate relations with Zeng, their letters were very frank and sometimes contained some private matters. For example, in letter 25 addressed to Li Hanzhang, Zeng wrote, 'I told you my difficulties, and hope you can explain it to the emperor so that I may get rid of people's suspicions.' From this letter, we can see the special relations between Zeng and Hanzhang. Zeng disclosed his inner world to Li Hanzhang in letter 33, 'I am afraid that I may make big mistakes in my old days.' Zeng was afraid that he might get beheaded due to his big achievements which may cause suspicions from the court. In this letter, he explained that he had to be very cautious to avoid any mishap. This letter also showed that he was not very faithful to Qing empire, so he would be condemned guilty if the letter was published. Some of his letters were about how to govern his army, supervise military operations, handle civil matters, attract talents, encourage those lagging behind. These letters are very helpful for the study about the wars between Qing Army and Taiping Army and Nian Army as well as Zeng Guofan himself. Other letters, like commenting on other people and asking for help, can hardly be found in Li Hanzhang's *Complete Works*, and thus make this book precious.

Included in this book are 32 letters and fragments between Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang and Li Hanzhang. Among them, there are 3 letters and 29 fragments, without dates. After a close study, 5 letters can be dated, but the dates of other letters remain unknown. From the content, we can tell that these letters were compiled in chronological order. The first letter addressed to Li Hanzhang read as follows, 'I will order Bao's Army to move northward to rescue them. I will also move to Dongliu River to control the situation.' He dated April 18, 9.00–11.00 am (lunar calendar). Here, Bao's Army referred to the army led by Bao Chao. Bao Chao, originally named Chunting, was born in Fengjie, Sichuan Province. Zeng Guofan's chronology of 1861 read: 'In April, he moved to Dongliu County.' In Zeng Guofan's Diaries, Zeng wrote a diary on April 18th, 1861, 'After breakfast, played chess for a while. And then, wrote a letter to Bao Chunting (Bao chao), Hu Gong (bao), Ruandi and Li Xiaoquan.' From these three documents, this letter should have been written on April 18, 1861. The 14th fragment to Li Hanzhang was dated 'leap month of May, the day of hui'. According to the almanac, it referred to May 30, 1865. The 25th letter to Li Hanzhang was dated 'leap month of April, the day of hui'. This conforms to his diary 'I wrote a letter to Li Hanzhang after 2 o'clock'. Therefore, this letter was written on April 13th. The 28th fragment to Li Hanzhang was about writing a couplet for Li. In this letter, Zeng asked for Xuan paper (a kind of paper known for its high quality) and brushes, which read very interesting:

By the way, you'd better give me some Xuan paper, but I'm afraid my handwriting doesn't deserve it. Please cut down on two edges, otherwise the paper will be too long. In rural areas, if a local scholar writes for anybody, he always expects a big reward, let alone a blessing couplet! Even if you give him many precious things, he still wants something more. So I would like to be given as a gift ten or twenty scrolls of old Xuan paper the same as I used in writing the couplet for you. Besides, I hope you give me dozens of old Haohu brushes for writing couplets, scrolls, and small scripts. The brushes should be long and pen-holders should be small. Can you give them to me? Best regards. Zeng Guofan August 7th.

Zeng wrote a diary on August 17th, 1868, 'Wrote Li Hanzhang a letter, and then wrote 8 couplets 3-5pm.' This corresponded to that letter which should have been copied by his assistant, and the fragment was written by himself. Among the eight couples, there should be one for Li Hanzhang. Therefore, this fragment should be written on August 17th, 1868. The 31th fragment to Li Hanzhang had neither the year nor month or date. It had only four lines:

After reading your brothers' eulogy for my birthday party and the wall scrolls from Hubei Province, I feel very uneasy. After the unsuccessful military actions against Nian Army, I made no achievements in several years. This time I was appointed again as Governor-General of Jiangsu and Anhui provinces despite my eye illness, and this makes me feel very ashamed. I want to take some remedy measures, but I have no energy now. If you have any news, please inform me.

According to historical documents, Zeng Guofan's right eye became blind in March, 1870 and his birthday party was held on October 11th the same year. On October (leap month) 20, he went to Nanjing in the capacity of Governor-General of Jiangsu and Anhui provinces, and took up his job two days later. It was in the winter of 1870 when he wrote the letter above. Zeng died in 1872 after a long time of illness. This fragment should be written after Zeng came back to his original office in the 1870s. The first letter began in 1862, and the last letter was written in 1872, among the last ten years of Zeng's life, thus possessing special historical values. The letters included in this book also have high artistic values. Zeng was a well learned scholar, and was good at calligraphy, especially regular and running hand scripts. Zeng preferred both firm and gentle style. Sometimes the characters were very big, and sometimes very small. He put a touch of gentleness in his seriousness, and thus made his handwriting elegant and graceful. His style was best reflected in his letters written when he was old. This also demonstrates the saying 'one can write good poems only when he is old'.

目 录

复李翰章	1
致李翰章附片	11
致李翰章附片	15
致李翰章 李鸿章附片	17
致李翰章附片	23
致李翰章 李鸿章附片	25
复李翰章附片	27
致李翰章附片	29
复李翰章附片	35
致李翰章附片	37
致李翰章附片	39
致李翰章附片	41
致李翰章附片	43
致李翰章附片	47
致李翰章附片	51
致李翰章附片	55
致李翰章附片	61
致李翰章附片	65
致李翰章附片	71
致李翰章附片	75
致李翰章附片	77
致李翰章附片	79
致李鸿章附片	81
致李翰章附片	83
复李翰章	85
致李翰章附片	91
致李翰章附片	93
致李翰章附片	97
致李翰章附片	99
致李翰章附片	103
致李翰章	105
致李翰章	107

小泉年兄閣下前接
惠書稍稽裁復即維

政祉康綏

侍闈曩福至以爲頃祁門軍事自左能
併力擊退黃文金大股後滿擬可以少安乃黃
逆西路甫清而僑侍王李世賢又從東路竊

有容堂詩卷





小泉年兄阁下：

前接惠书，稍稽裁覆。即维政祉康绥，侍闱曼福，至以为颂。

祁门军事，自左、鲍并力击退黄文金大股后，满拟可以少安。乃黄逆西路甫清，而伪侍王李世贤又从东路婺



源竄至景鎮左之分部以挫陳軍全部敗

潰

皖南總兵
陳大富

蔓延鄱陽樂平浮梁等處梗

我後路塞我餉道幸二三兩月左軍以獲

勝仗能軍亦自東建趕至侍逆始行敗走竄

至玉山衛所一帶左軍跟蹤追勦盡其再由

廣信以搜捕建由呈徽之祁休等屬糧路



源窜至景镇，左之分部小挫，陈军全部败溃（皖南总兵陈大富），蔓延鄱阳、乐平、浮梁等处，梗我后路，塞我饷道。幸二、三两月，左军六获胜仗，鲍军亦自东建赶至，侍逆始行败走，窜至玉山、衢州一带。左军跟踪追剿，虑其再由广信以扰抚、建。由是徽之祁、休等属粮路



始通軍士大定皖南差有起色而逆酋四眼
狗連陷湖北二府五縣踞城堅守自率大股直下
安慶拊拿第第等軍之背遂令龍軍北渡救援
而而鄒人亦移駐東流江濱就近調度日內狗酋
以堅壘抗拒龍軍自赴桐城糾集偽璋五研
王各股來援計本月必與幾次惡仗甚吉也一腹



始通，军士大定，皖南差有起色。而逆酋四眼狗连陷湖北二府五县，踞城坚守，自率大股直下安庆，拊舍弟等军之背。遂令鲍军北渡救援，而鄙人亦移驻东流江滨，就近调度。日内狗酋以坚垒抗拒鲍军，自赴桐城纠集伪璋王、玕王各股来援，计本月必有几次恶仗。其吉安一股，



踞瑞寬得深入腹地四月二日郭守之敗省城
大震亟催鮑軍入援論餉項則軍清腹地論
大局則宜圖安慶安慶不穩鮑軍不能遽援瑞
郡也目下張與朱唐堅守祁休等處左軍經營
廣信鮑軍南北策應均日夜勞苦不得少
休餉項欠夥欠至五六個月不寄

張欠六 沅與朱唐欠五
鮑欠四 左欠月餘